

Message Text

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PAGE 01 KABUL 05609 271237Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L KABUL 5609

EXDIS

FOR NEA

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, US, AF

SUBJ: POSSIBLE U.S. RESPONSE TO AFGHAN VOTING AT 30TH UNGA

1. SUMMARY: EMBASSY KABUL'S CONCERN IS THAT AFGHANISTAN'S VOTES ON KEY ISSUES AT THE 30TH UNGA FREQUENTLY WILL BE IN OPPOSITION TO U.S. POSITIONS. THE PURPOSE OF THIS MESSAGE IS TO SUBMIT FOR THE DEPARTMENT'S REVIEW, MEASURES U.S. MIGHT TAKE TO SHOW OUR DISPLEASURE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN (GOA) WITHOUT UNDERMINING OUR BASIC RELATIONSHIP HERE OR ADVERSELY AFFECTING OVERALL U.S. INTERESTS IN AFGHANISTAN. END SUMMARY.

2. AFGHAN TENDENCY TOWARD BLOC VOTING IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY: WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, AFGHANISTAN VOTES WITH THE MAJORITY IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, FOLLOWING SO-CALLED THIRD WORLD/NON-ALIGNED POSITIONS. WHILE GOA OFFICIALS HERE ARE PRIVATELY REASONABLE AND SYMPATHETIC TO OUR PROCEDURE AND PRECEDENT ARGUMENTS, AFGHAN VOTING PATTERNS IN UNGA REFLECT AN OVERRIDING DESIRE TO PURSUE "NON-ALIGNED" CREDENTIALS REGARDLESS OF MERITS OF THE ISSUE AT HAND. ON SUCH ISSUES AS SOUTH AFRICA, RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, CHILE AND HUMAN RIGHTS, THE GOA WILL MOST PROBABLY CONTINUE TO VOTE WITH THE BLOC.

3. KOREA AND CYPRUS: AFGHANISTAN HAS A LONG HISTORY OF
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KABUL 05609 271237Z

CLOSE RELATIONS WITH TURKEY. SHOULD CYPRUS ISSUE BE PUT

ON AGENDA, GOA CAN BE EXPECTED TO TAKE POSITION FAVORED BY TURKEY, REGARDLESS OF MAJORITY POSITION. SIMILARLY, AFGHANISTAN HAS FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH BOTH KOREAS. WE EXPECT GOA TO CONTINUE TO ABSTAIN ON KOREA ISSUE, EVEN THOUGH DESIRE FOR "NON-ALIGNED" PURITY CONSTITUTES SOME PRESSURE AGAINST TRADITIONAL NEUTRALITY ON THIS ISSUE.

4. EXPULSION TO ISRAEL: UNLESS NON-ARAB MUSLIM COUNTRIES WITH LIICH AFGHANISTAN HAS STRONG ISSES, SUCH AS TURKEY OR IRAN, OPPOSE EXPULSION OF ISRAEL, GOA WILL VOTE WITH OTHER ISLAMIC STATES FOLLOWING RESOLUTION PASSED BY ISLAMIC FORMIN MEETING AT JIDDA IN MID-JULY. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER GOA WILL VOTE AGAINST EXPULSION IF A DIVISION AMONG MUSLIM STATES OCCURS (E.G., SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT AND EGYPT AGAINST THE LIKES OF SYRIA AND IRAQ), SINCE GOA NBIS PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE, FOR INTERNAL POLITICAL REASONS,

TO CHARGE OF NOT BEING SUFFICIENTLY ISLAMIC.

5. WHAT IS TO BE DONE: THE EMBASSY HAS MADE STRONG AND REPEATED DEMARCHES ON MANY CURRENT UNGA ISSUES. WE ALSOLTHAVE MADE D EMARCHES UP TO AND INCLUDING HBE PRESIDENTIAL LEVEL ON DWOC VOTING AND EXPULSION OF ISRAEL. THUS, IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN OUR CREDIBILITY WITH GOA, IF AFGHANISTAN VOTES FOR THE EXPULSION OF ISRAEL OR INDULGES IN CONSISTENT, OBVIOUS AND UNRESTRAINED BLOC VOTING, WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD REVIEW WAYS TO SIGNAL U.S. DISPLEASURE TO THE GOA, WITHOUT UNDERMINING OUR BASIC RELATIONSHIP OR ADVERSELY AFFECTING OVERALL U.S. INTERESTS IN AFGHANISTAN.

6. POSSIBLE MEASURES: THE FOLLOWING ARE POSSIBLE MEIFURES, ARRANGED IN INCREASING ORDER OF SEVERITY, WHICH MIGHT BE TAKEN TO SIGNAL OUR DISPLEASURE AND THE INDICATE THAT ALL IS NOT "BUSINESS AS USUAL." AS BEST WE CAN JUDGE, NONE ARAF SUFFICIENTLY SEVERE TO ERODE OUR EXISTING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GOA.

A. SOCIAL CONTACTS
WITH GOA OFFICIALS COULD BE CURTAILED,
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PAGE 03 KABUL 05609 271237Z

OR ELIMINATED ENTIRELY, FOR A PERIOD OF FOUR TO SIX WEEKS. THIS MIGHT ENTAIL BOTH DECLINING INVCNATIONS RECEIVED AND WITHHOLDING INVITATIONS TO GOASNFFICIALS BY MISSION OFFICERS OF COUNSELOR RANWAND ABOVE.

3. THE RETURN OF AMBASSADOR ELIOT TO KABUL COULD BE DELAYED, WITH THE DEPARTMENT MAKING CLEAR TO THE AFGHAN AMBASSSDOR TO WASHINGTON THE REASON FOR THE

DZPAY.

C A STRONG DEMARCH TO DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ABDULLAH IN NEW YORK, BY EITHER AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN OR ASSISTANT SECRETARY BUFFUM, COULD BE COUPLED WITH A STIFF NOTE FROM THE MISSION IN KABUL TO THE AFGHAN FOREIGN MINISTRY.

D. A STRONG PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY KISSINGER TO PRESIDENT DAUD COULD BE HAND-CARRIED BACK TO KABUL BY AMBASSADOR ELIOT. (THIS MIGHT USEFULLY BE COMBINED WITH B, ABOVE.)

FYI -- WE ALSO CONSIDERED AS AN OPTION THE WITHHOLDING -- OR DELAYING IMPLEMENTATION -- OF SOME SPECIFIC ON-GOING AID ASSISTANCE PROJECT. THIS COURSE WAS REJECTED, SINCE IT SEEMS TO US THAT FOR SUCH A SIGNAL TO BE CLEAR AND UNAMBIGUOUS, IT WOULD HAVE TO BE UNACCEPTABLY SEVERE, THUS IMPACTING ON THE BASIC U.S. POSITION IN AFGHANISTAN. HOWEVER, IF DEPARTMENT/ AID BELIEVE IT DESIRABLE, WE COULD INFORM THE GOA THAT IN VIEW OF AFGHAN ACTION IN THE UNGA, WE ARE NOT ABLE TO CONSIDER THEIR REQUEST FOR PL-480, TITLE I, VEGETABLE OIL FOR THE HSME BEING.

7. WITHOUT BEING VINDICTIVE, WE FEEL THAT THE U.S. CANNOT AFFORD TO LET A HOSTILE UN VOTING RECORD GO UNREMARKED. RESPECT FOR THE UNITED STATES IS AN IMPORTANT INGREDIENT IN THE MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE GOA. WE HAVE PICKED UP SIGNALS HERE THAT GOA OFFICIALS DOUBT THAT THE U.S. WILL DO MORE THAN TALK IF AFGHANISTAN IGNORES OUR VIEWS. PERPETUATION OF SUCH AN ATTITUDE IS, WE BELIEVE, UNHEALTHY.

8. CLEARLY, ANY STEPS SUCH AS THOSE DISCUSSED IN PARA 6 WOULD HAVE TO BE REVIEWED CAREFULLY BY NEA AND IO IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CONDUCT AND VOTING RECORD OF THE GOA AND ITS "DE FACTO" CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 KABUL 05609 271237Z

FOREIGN MINISTER WAHEED ABDULLAH AT THE SPECIAL SESSION AND THE UNGA.

9. ADVISE.
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